

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ARA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00
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R 130850Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2408
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
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AMEMBASSY BISSAU POUCH
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AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 0343

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, PORG, SHUM, SG
SUBJECT: AFRICAN SOCIALIST PARTIES DAKAR MEETING

REF 77 DAKAR 8154 (NOTAL)
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1. SUMMARY: ELEVEN AFRICAN "SOCIALIST" PARTIES MET
IN DAKAR DECEMBER 29 TO DISCUSS CREATION OF "INTERAFRICAIN
SOCIALISTE." AGREEMENT WAS REACHED TO CONTINUE DIALOGUE
AND SET UP COMMITTEE OF TUNISIA, EGYPT, MAURITIUS,
SENEGAL AND, POSSIBLY, ZAMBIA, TO MAKE PLANS FOR ANOTHER
MEETING IN CAIRO FOLLOWED BY CONGRESS WITHIN NEXT YEAR

TO CONSTITUTE ORGANIZATION. DELAY WILL PROVIDE TIME TO REVISE PROPOSED CHARTER AND TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON WHAT CONSTITUTES SOCIALISM. DESPITE LIP-SERVICE TO AFRICAN "UNITY" AND INSISTENCE DURING MEETING THAT INTERAFRICAINNE WAS "NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY GROUP OR IDEOLOGY," SENEGAL'S EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AFRICA-WIDE ORGANIZATION OF LIKE-MINDED MODERATE SOCIALIST PARTIES COMPLEMENTS OTHER RECENT INITIATIVES DESIGNED TO ORGANIZE MODERATE AFRICANS TO PROTECT THEIR INTERESTS. SENGHOR HAS ALSO ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE IS ANXIOUS TO BRING MORE AFRICANS INTO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WHICH IS, HE SAYS, "TOO EUROPEAN." END SUMMARY.

2. AS ANTICIPATED REFTTEL, REPRESENTATIVES OF ELEVEN "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST" AFRICAN POLITICAL PARTIES MET DECEMBER 29 IN DAKAR UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF PRESIDENT SENGHOR TO DISCUSS ESTABLISHMENT OF "INTERAFRICAINNE SOCIALISTE." FOLLOWING PARTIES PARTICIPATED:
EGYPT: ARAB SOCIALIST PARTY (DR. ALY EL SALMY, MINISTER OF STATE, MEMBER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSION);
GAMBIA: PEOPLES' PROGRESSIVE PARTY (AL HADJ LAMIN SAHO, ATTORNEY GENERAL, MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE);
MOROCCO: ISTIQLAL (DR. BEN HALAM ADJALLIL, DEPUTY, MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE),
UNION SOCIALISTE DES FORCES POPULAIRES (MOHAMED
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LYAZGHI, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL BUREAU);
MAURITIUS: PARTI TRAVAILLISTE (SIR HAROLD WALTER, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TOURISM AND IMMIGRATION, MEMBER OF EXECUTIVE);
PARTI MAURICIEN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATE (ABDOOL MANAF FARIKA, SECRETARY-GENERAL);
SUDAN: SUDAN SOCIALIST UNION (DR. ABDIN, SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS);
ZAMBIA: UNITED NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE PARTY (B.F. KAPULU, MEMBER OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE);
SENEGAL: PARTI SOCIALISTE (SENGHOR, ET AL);
TUNISIA: PARTI SOCIALISTE DESTOURIEN (MOHAMMED SAYAH, MINISTER-DELEGATE ATTACHED TO THE PRIME MINISTER, DIRECTOR OF PARTY);
MAURITANIA: PARTI DU PEUPLE MAURITANIEN (ABDOUL AZIZ SALL, PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND MEMBER OF NATIONAL POLITICAL BUREAU).

3. MEETING TOOK PLACE ON CONCLUSION OF ORDINARY CONGRESS (SEPTTEL) OF SENGHOR'S PARTI SOCIALISTE (PS) WHERE THESE PARTIES HAD BEEN IN ATTENDANCE. FRENCH SOCIALISTS (ROBERT PONTILLON), PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS (RUI MATHEUS),

PAIGC OF GUINEA-BISSAU (JOSE ARAUJO) AND MPR OF ZAIRE
(MUKUMA WA MPUTU) WERE ALSO IN TOWN FOR PS CONGRESS
BUT DID NOT PARTICIPATE DIRECTLY IN INTER-AFRICAN MEETING.

4. IN HIS REMARKS, SENGHOR STRESSED THAT LOW LEVEL OF ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT "COULD NOT BE A PRETEXT FOR APPLYING A POLICY WHICH
IGNORES LIBERTY AND HUMAN DIGNITY, IN TAKING A MATERIALISTIC
VIEW OF PROBLEMS." HE DESCRIBED PRESENT INITIATIVE AS REACTION TO
JUNE 1975 TUNIS CONFERENCE WHEN 37 AFRICAN PARTIES OF ALL STRIPES
FOUND THEIR VIEWS OF SOCIALISM TOO DIVERGENT FOR PRODUCTIVE DIS-
CUSSION. SENGHOR'S VIEW IS THAT AFRICAN SOCIALISM SHOULD OFFER
MIDDLE WAY BETWEEN MARXIST-LENINISM (WHICH LEADS TO "ECONOMIC
FAILURE") AND LIBERALISM (WHERE PROSPERITY IS PURCHASED AT THE
EXPENSE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE). DRAFT CHARTER FOR INTERAFRICAIN
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SOCIALISTE, ENVISAGING STRUCTURE CONSISTING OF GENERAL CONFERENCE,
BUREAU AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT, WAS DRAWN UP LAST OCTOBER BY
SEVEN OF PARTICIPATING PARTIES. CHARTER AFFIRMS ATTACHEMENT TO
FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT DEFINES NON-ALIGNMENT
AS "COMMON STRATEGY FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM,
COLONIALISM, RACISM, ZIONISM AND ALL OTHER FORMS OF HEGEMONY."
SENGHOR WAS QUICK TO EXPLAIN THAT, BY ZIONISM, HE WAS NOT RE-
FERRING TO JUDAISM, BUT TO ISRAELI "TERRITORIAL EXPANSIONISM."

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 0343

5.FINAL COMMUNIQUE INDICATED THAT PARTIES HAD CONSIDERED SCOPE THAT INTERAFRICAIN SOCIALISTE MIGHT HAVE AND "HAD PLACED ACCENT ON IMPORTANCE OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM, WHICH RESPECTS...LIBERTY AND HUMAN DIGNITY, IN ORDER TO ASSURE ITS FULL REALIZATION."
AD HOC COMMITTEE (TUNISIA AS CHAIRMAN, EGYPT, MAURITIUS,
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SENEGAL) WAS CHARGED WITH DRAWING UP DRAFT REGULATIONS FOR INTER-
AFRICAIN SOCIALISTE, AND PROPOSING DATES FOR NEXT MEETING (IN
CAIRO) AND SUBSEQUENT CONGRESS WHERE ORGANIZATION
COULD BE FORMALLY CONSTITUTED. COMMUNIQUE REPORTED
DECISION TO PURSUE DIALOGUE PARTIES HAVE ESTABLISHED, IN
BELIEF THAT THIS INITIATIVE COULD PROVIDE "FLEXIBLE
INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK" FOR PROMOTING "FERTILE AND
PERMANENT COORDINATION OF THEIR ACTION."

6 LOCAL PRESS HEADLINED THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN
REACHED TO CREATE INTERAFRICAIN SOCIALISTE BUT, AS
INDICATED ABOVE, A GOOD DEAL STILL REMAINS TO
BE DONE, NOT THE LEAST OF WHICH IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON
WHAT CONSTITUTES SOCIALISM. AT PRESS CONFERENCE FOLLOWING
MEETING, SENGHOR ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF
INTERAFRICAIN SOCIALIST HAD BEEN PUT OFF TO PERMIT
PROSPECTIVE MEMBERS TO STUDY FULLY PROPOSED CHARTER AND
AMEND IT "TO DEFINE BETTER THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIALISM AND
DEMOCRACY FROM THE AFRICAN POINT OF VIEW."

7. IN REMARKS TO PRESS, SENGHOR MADE NO BONES ABOUT HIS
DESIRE TO STRENGTHEN AFRICAN POSITION IN SOCIALIST
INTERNATIONAL. HE TAKES VIEW THAT AFRICAN GROUP SHOULD
HAVE "ORGANIC RELATION" TO SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL, BUT
THAT EACH MEMBER PARTY "CAN ENTER INDIVIDUALLY INTO

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL", WHICH SENGHOR SAYS IS "STILL TOO EUROPEAN, TOO EUROAMERICAN." HE SAID: "WE ARE GOING TO TRY TO HAVE OTHER AFRICAN SOCIALIST PARTIES ENTER THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL TO INCREASE OUR WEIGHT" SO THAT ORGANIZATION WILL TRULY "MERIT ITS NAME." ADHESION OF MORE AFRICAN PARTIES WOULD ALSO STRENGTHEN SENGHOR'S HAND, ON ASSUMPTION THAT HE WOULD REMAIN ORGANIZATION'S ONLY BLACK AFRICAN VICE-PRESIDENT.
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8. PRESS EMPHASIZES THAT, " FAR FROM BEING A GHETTO, THE "INTERAFRICAINE SOCIALISTE" IS OPEN TO ALL AFRICAN PARTIES WHICH NATURALLY SHARE ITS VIEWS AND WHICH HAVE OPTED FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM AS A MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT."

SENGHOR HAS BEEN STRUGGLING TO EXPAND GROUP TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA, HENCE INVITATION TO ZAMBIA, WHICH SENGHOR ALSO WANTS ADDED TO AD HOC COMMITTEE. HOWEVER, THERE WAS NO PUBLIC SIGN OF THE EXPECTED TANZANIAN OBSERVER AND SENGHOR HAD PREVIOUSLY REFUSED PARTICIPATION BY ANGOLA'S MPLA (REFETL), WITH WHOSE GOVERNMENT SENEGAL HAS NO OFFICIAL RELATIONS.

9. FACT IS THAT REFERENCE TO DESIRABILITY OF AFRICAN "UNITY" HAD TO BE ADDED TO INTERAFRICAINE DOCUMENTS AS AFTERTHOUGHT IN DAKAR. SENEGALESE INITIATIVE TO ESTABLISH AFRICA-WIDE ORGANIZATION OF LIKEMINDED MODERATE SOCIALIST PARTIES CAN BE SEEN AS FITTING DIRECTLY INTO PATTERN OF OTHER RECENT EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE MODERATE AFRICANS TO DEFEND THEIR OWN INTERESTS. THIS THEME WAS EVIDENT AT APRIL FRANCO-AFRICAN DAKAR SUMMIT, IN JULY OAU SUMMIT RESOLUTION AGAINST EXTERNAL INTERVENTION, AND IN ESTABLISHMENT OF CEAO NON-AGGRESSION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE PACT. SENSITIVITY ON THIS POINT WAS OBVIOUS DURING THE JUST-CONCLUDED DAKAR MEETING. BOTH SENGHOR AND TUNISIAN MINISTER SAHAY INSISTED IN PUBLIC REMARKS THAT "OUR ASSOCIATION IS NOT DIRECTED AGAINST ANY GROUP, NOR EVEN AGAINST ANY IDEOLOGY." HOWEVER, SAHAY WENT ON TO EMPHASIZE IMPORTANCE OF COORDINATING POSITIONS "AT MOMENT WHEN THE WORLD ECONOMY IS SHAKEN BY MORE AND MORE ACUTE CRISES...WHEN AFRICA IS THE OBJECT OF SO MUCH COVETOUSNESS, WHEN THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE APPEARS FROZEN, FAILING A REAL WILL FOR CHANGE ON THE PART OF
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THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES."
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